From this account it would appear that the Arawak-speaking people in this area were no longer using the large oval-shaped straw-thatched house which is still used by many of the Arawak-speaking people to the north. The covering used may have been made from "piri," a species of bulrush, which the Terena still use for making mats. This type of house was easy to dismantle and move, which may account for the probable abandonment of a more permanent type of structure.

Sánchez Labrador then goes on to describe the inside of the house:

> Each captain lives together with his brothers and their kin in one house. . . . Every house has five doors, in order that no one should get in each other's way. There is one door at each end and three on one side. When it rains, they cover their doorways with mats of rushes. Near the doors are the fireplaces and kitchens, which are no more than three movable stones, which act as a tripod on which they place their curiously worked pots. The food is cooked without any other spices than water. At the back of the house are the beds, that is, mats spread over the floor. It is astonishing that although these people grow cotton they do not use hammocks. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 276.]

In 1845, when the first groups of the Terena were already near Miranda in Brazil, we get a more definite description of Terena houses from Castelnau:

> In the village there are about 100 to 120 houses, joined to each other. They are long huts forming a circle around a big square. They resemble great "ranchos" covered with immense roofs of palm fronds. [Castelnau, 1850–59, vol. 2, p. 391.]

As to weapons and the interior of the house, Castelnau has this to say:

> The weapons of these people are spears with iron points, clubs, bows, and small arrows, and the "bodoque," an instrument which resembles a bow but has two cords united by a piece of leather in the middle on which stones are placed for shooting. In the inside of each hut there is a bed made of a platform of cane, supported by four stakes, which is covered with a hide of a bull. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 469.]

The passages just quoted give us a general description of Terena houses. The descriptions are nearly 100 years apart. Sánchez Labrador states that the occupants of the house slept on the floor, while Castelnau states that they slept on skin-covered platforms. The Terena say that they did not use hammocks until recently and that they slept on bamboo platforms, *ipé*, covered with skins or reed mats called *hitúri*.

* [work published in 1850-59, see bibliography, P. 69 -- Analyst]

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[Chaco Period] Terena

delicate drawings, or even an individual painting himself. 307
The painting is done with a small stick which is dipped into a mixture of charcoal and "genipapo" dye. Sometimes they use a real seal to print a figure on the skin. One of our companions could not resist the women's re- [631]
quest to make an Indian out of him, as they said, and soon his arm was covered with charming colored triangular figures, forming squares of decreasing size. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 472.]

COLLECTING, HUNTING, AND FISHING

The seasonal ripening of the various wild fruits, 221
the availability of roots and the tender shoots of young plants, the movements of game, and the presence or absence of fish in shallow waters imposed upon the Terena an annual cycle of production and consumption. From November to February algarroba and tusca pods, the fruits of [262]
mistol and chañar were gathered and eaten. In March and April the people depended upon such wild foods as palmito and Barbary figs. May and June were months of plenty. Cultivated crops had, by now, matured and were ready for use, many wild fruits were available, and fish entered shallow waters to spawn. This was a time for travel, visiting, and ceremonial activity. By July and August lack of rain reduced the productivity of the savanna, and people consumed the products of their fields and gathered palm fruits and nuts. October was a lean month during which the Indians depended largely upon what foods were stored. This month, also, was the time for preparing the fields for next season's planting.

Algarroba and tusca pods were crushed in a 262
mortar, mixed with water, and eaten in the form 252
of mush. Sometimes algarroba pods were ground into flour from which cakes baked over coals were made. Most of the wild fruits were eaten either raw or boiled. The terminal shoots of palms were eaten raw, boiled, or baked. Palm fruits were eaten raw; the kernels were crushed and eaten or, in some cases, the oil was extracted by boiling, the oil being skimmed off the surface of the water. Wild roots were baked or boiled. Algarroba meal, palm nuts, and certain wild roots could be stored for several months after collecting. Storage of wild foods, however, was not resorted to by the Terena to the same extent as was common with the tribes of the central Chaco.

For several weeks during May or June the Te- 226
rena depended almost entirely on fish, the people 221
moving to the banks of the Paraguay River where

they built temporary shelters of brushwood. During this period, fish moved close to the banks and into shallow pools to feed and could thus be caught with greater ease. A very common way of catching fish consisted in a number of men entering the water in order to drive the fish into a corner from where they could be caught by hand and thrown ashore. In shallow water the Terena also used conical wicker baskets open at the top and bottom. These baskets, which were about 2.5 feet high, were dropped over the fish, the fish being extracted through the top by hand. Larger wickerwork fish traps were also used. The Terena claim not to have used nets. Fishhooks made from bone were used in deeper water. For catching large fish swimming on the surface of the water, the Terena used the bow and arrow. Among the commonest varieties of fish the Terena mention the following: "marobás," *chaca-chaca;* "*trairas*," *himon;* "bagres," *ayaporé*. Fish were either boiled, broiled, or baked wrapped in clay. For broiling, the fish was cleaned, split, and placed in a cleft stick with cross sticks to keep the fish spread out. The stick was then stuck into the ground near a fire and turned until the fish was broiled. Fish were also dried on a latticework frame over a fire.

The principal weapons of the chase were the bow and arrow, the spear, and the wooden club. The Terena used a bow about 5 feet in length and oval in cross section made from a reddish-color wood, the string being made of tucum palm fiber. For game, bone-pointed arrows with two feathers were used. For birds, arrows with several slender bamboo points were used. Arrows used for shooting fish did not have feathers. In using stones, with which to kill birds, the Terena put two strings on their bows. Formerly the spear was pointed with bone, but with the introduction of iron an iron point was used. A heavy flat wooden blade or club was also used for dispatching wounded game. In addition to these weapons, the Terena used pitfalls and numerous kinds of traps.

When game was scarce and spread over a wide area, men on foot went out individually stalking deer, peccary, rhea, and tapir. If game was more plentiful and the country suitable, game could be surrounded and driven into an enclosed area where they could be shot down or speared. This method of collective hunting was particularly common after the adoption of the horse. Jaguars were sur-

rounded by a number of hunters and when the jaguar attempted to break through the circle of hunters he was speared, the hunter catching the jaguar on his spear in midair. Game was also caught within a circle of a grass fire. Pitfalls made on deer, peccary, and tapir trails were also widely used. For birds and smaller game, the Terena used deadfalls and a variety of loop snares fastened to bent-over saplings. Ducks were caught by swimmers diving and coming up under the birds or by surprising them at night in shallow water where they could be killed with sticks or stones. Dogs were used for tracking and in driving game to places selected for dispatching them.

When a man hunted alone, the game he killed was his. This game was later divided among the members of the household. In communal hunts the carcass belonged to the man who was able to kill the animal. The owner later divided the meat among the hunters.

The Terena used hunting magic consisting of certain plants which were believed to bring good luck to the hunter. Shamans were believed to know the kinds of medicines that brought good luck. Animal fat and salt were considered harmful to the hunter.

Meat was eaten boiled or broiled over hot coals. The Terena also used the earth oven for baking and roasting meats.

AGRICULTURE

The Terena selected their croplands near streams because the soils were richer and the moisture more adequate in the bottom lands. Care had to be taken not to plant a field in an area subject to summer floods. Brushwood fences were built to keep out wild pigs and domestic animals such as cattle and horses. Gourd rattles were sometimes used to frighten away birds. Magic was employed to keep away insects and other parasites.

Sánchez Labrador has the following to say about agricultural lands of the Chaná:

> The greatest part of the territory consists of low lands, which are clayey during the rainy seasons. However, when the heat is intense water is extremely scarce and even drinking water cannot be found except near the Paraguay River or some other river which comes from the interior and runs amid trees. When water is scarce, the people move to places where water is plentiful and subsist on hunting and fishing. Before they leave their settlements they plant maize, gourds, cotton, tobacco, and

months later, depending upon the type and the conditions of rainfall. Fresh maize was roasted before a fire or made into porridge or into cakes called *shipa*. A fermented beverage was also prepared from newly harvested maize. Ears of maize were also dried and stored in the house to be later crushed in a mortar and used for making porridge.

Manioc (chupú).—While in the Chaco, the Terena cultivated both the sweet manioc, *eshóti-chupú*, and the bitter manioc, *suati-chupú*. Manioc was planted at the same time as maize and was weeded to give the young plants a good start. Sweet manioc matured in about 8 months and bitter manioc in about 12 months. Bitter manioc was thus a valuable food reserve, as it became available during the lean months of September and October.

Sweet manioc was eaten boiled and baked or cut up and boiled with meat. Bitter manioc, however, had to be processed in order to rid the tubers of their poisonous acids. The tubers were first cleaned, then shredded with a wooden grater. The pulp was then rolled in a cotton cloth which was wrung with the aid of two sticks, one at each end of the cloth press. The pulp was then rolled into small cakes, *kihi*, or large cakes, *hapapé*, and baked until the bitter taste disappeared.

Sweetpotatoes (kohé).—The sweetpotato was a favorite food of the Terena and was planted in large quantities. The Terena recognized three varieties: A white variety known as *hepuiti-kohé*, a yellow variety, *hiati-kohé*, and a purple variety, *haraiti-kohé*. Although sweetpotatoes could be planted throughout the year, the biggest plantings were made at the beginning of the rainy season. Sweetpotatoes planted in October were ready for use in March.

Sweetpotatoes were eaten boiled, or baked on hot coals or in earth ovens. A hole in the ground was filled with wood and after the wood had burnt down to coals, the potatoes were placed in it, covered with soil and left for a day or two.

Maize, sweetpotatoes, and manioc were the staple subsistence crops of the Terena. In addition to being substantial foods, these crops became available for use over a period stretching from January to October. Maize came in from January to March, sweetpotatoes from March to July, manioc from August to October.

[Barra] Village]

cold spells the people sit around fires in the early morning to keep warm.

Containers found in the houses are of the following types:

(1) Netted bags made from *yulú* fibers used for carrying and storing sweetpotatoes, maize, and other garden produce. Small bags are called *veri* and the large ones *nimaké*. These bags can be carried on the back or used as saddlebags. The mesh averages 4 inches and the size of the twine varies with the size of the bag, generally being about the size of heavy cotton fish netting.

(2) Round baskets of various sizes plaited from thin strips of wild bamboo or other wild cane. Some of the larger baskets have handles, so that they can be hung from a peg in the wall to keep dogs and chickens from taking the contents.

(3) Large wide-mouthed clay pots for storing water, ranging from 1 to 4 gallons in content. These pots are made by the coil method and are unglazed and undecorated. It is reported that in the neighboring village of Cachoeirinha some of the Terena glaze and decorate these large pots.

(4) Flat, glazed pottery dishes are also found. These are of a dark-red color, without decoration, and are used for serving food.

(5) Cast-iron pots purchased in Taunay are widely used for cooking food.

(6) Empty kerosene cans are always in demand for storing water and meal. Any empty can is readily accepted by the Terena.

(7) Calabashes of various sizes cut to form cups and ladles are used for many purposes. Chimarron or maté tea is drunk from calabashes.

(8) Flat iron pans about a yard in diameter are supplied by the Post for toasting manioc meal.

(9) Wooden mortars with wooden pestles for grinding dried maize or dried meat stand in every back yard. The mortar is a round block of wood about 3 feet long and 18 inches in diameter, hollowed out in one end to the depth of 8 or 10 inches. The block is set upright, and maize is placed in the hollow and pounded with a heavy wooden pestle about 3 or 4 feet long; a common sight every morning is to see women at the rear of the houses pounding out the corn meal or dried meat required for the day.

(10) In some houses a few porcelain cups, glasses, and table knives and forks are seen.

[Banana] Village]

later the field is weeded again with a hoe. After this weeding the manioc plant is strong enough to overcome the weeds and no more weeding is necessary. Sweet manioc takes 8 months to mature, and bitter manioc 1 year. Even then, mature manioc is left in the ground until required. 244 262

Sweet manioc is dug up as needed for daily use, the tubers being boiled or baked. Less often, boiled sweet manioc is mashed, made into cakes, and baked. Sweet manioc is also widely used in soups made with dried meat and onions. This latter dish is probably of Brazilian origin because one meets it in a "caboclo" hut as well as in a first-class hotel. 252 [177]

Bitter manioc, on the other hand, cannot be used until the poisonous acid is expelled. Bitter manioc is dug up by rows and processed. An Indian will say, "Today I am going to dig up two rows of manioc," which means that he is going to prepare a certain amount of manioc meal. In collecting manioc a man is usually assisted by his family, all carrying netted bags or large baskets and digging sticks. The stalk is pulled up and the dark brown tubers, ranging from 6 to 18 inches in length, are dug up and placed in the bags and baskets and carried home. At the back of the house the women clean the tubers, scraping off the loose dirt, small roots, and skin. The white tubers are now ready for grating. There are at least three principal types of graters. The simplest kind consists of a board with many nails driven through it so that one side is covered with spikes protruding about a quarter of an inch from the board. A woman then passes a tuber over the grater until it is reduced to shreds. Another type of grater resembles our kitchen grater, being a piece of tin with many holes punched through it, and is used in the same manner. A more efficient grater is made by covering a wooden cylinder with a sheet of tin punched full of holes. This roller is then fixed to the center of a special table and is turned by hand, the grated manoic falling into a vessel below. 252 249 252 412

The Terena no longer squeeze manioc pulp in a cotton cloth with sticks at both ends to give added purchase. Today, following the Brazilian custom, they put the pulp in a wooden press and squeeze out the juice, which contains a poisonous acid. The resulting semidry mass, called *hihi*, is first dried in the sun, then put through a rough sieve, and later toasted over a fire in a large iron pan. The meal, *yuma*, is then ready for use. It is eaten 252 [177] [262]

[P.24-B]

[Banana] Village]

alone or mixed with cooked meat or sprinkled over boiled beans and other foods. 252 [262]

From the extracted juice the Terena prepare starch. Water is added to the juice, after which it is passed through a cotton cloth that captures the larger particles. The liquid is then placed in a wooden trough and allowed to settle. Next day the water is poured off gently and the fine powder in the bottom of the trough is allowed to dry in the sun. The dry powder is admitted to be a fair quality of starch and is sold by the Terena to the shopkeepers in Taunay. [439]

Manioc meal is stored in cotton bags or large cans. On long journeys a bag of manioc meal mixed with pieces of boiled meat provides a satisfactory and easily transportable food supply. Manioc meal mixed with cane sirup is also used as a dessert among the Brazilians. Bitter manioc, then, is the mainstay of the Terena. It is easy to cultivate, as it requires very little care. 251 262

Sugarcane.—Sugarcane, the Terena say, is next in importance to manioc as a food and cash crop. The Terena cultivate three principal types of cane. The old type known as "caiana" was cultivated in the Chaco but is not used very extensively at present. Another type known as "cana do Japão" is a thick reddish cane which grows well and produces a juice with a high sugar content. The most popular type, because it is the most resistant to disease, is "cane 78." The Terena use the Portuguese word for sugarcane, "cana de açucar." 249 [262]

Sugarcane is planted in the moist lowlands near the streams. The land is prepared with a hoe, and the cuttings are set out just before the heavy rains in September or October. Two weeks after planting, the field is weeded and again a month later to give the cane plants a good start. Ten to twelve months later the cane is ready for cutting. The cane is cut with a machete and hauled to the village in oxcarts. [494]

The three principal products obtained from sugarcane are sirup, "rapadura," and raw sugar. The cane press used by the Terena is the old-type wooden press which has been used by the Brazilians for centuries. This machine consists of three large wooden cylinders, about 2 feet in diameter and about 4 feet long, set perpendicularly close together in a line on a wooden platform. To the axle of the central cylinder a long wooden 257

[Banana] Village]

pole is attached which, when drawn around in a circle, turns the three cylinders. Although two or three men can turn the cylinders, a horse is customarily hitched to the pole. 257

While the cylinders are turning, a man forces pieces of cane between the cylinders where the juice is expelled and later drips into cans or wooden buckets below. The juice is known as "garapa" and is drunk fresh from the machine, the usual custom being to drink it through the teeth to keep out the dirt. To prepare sirup, or "rapadura," the juice is boiled over a fire in flat iron basins about 4 feet in diameter. The first product obtained is sirup, *mopó*, which is widely used domestically and is also sold. With further boiling, "rapadura," or brown ungranulated sugar, is obtained. This sugar is pressed into approximately 1-kilo blocks and is used as candy or for sweetening tea, coffee, and other foods. When the boiled juice is permitted to settle and the water to evaporate, black granulated raw sugar is obtained. The Terena customarily produce only sirup and ungranulated brown sugar. [272]

Maize.—As a food crop maize is definitely secondary to manioc. The Terena appear to grow a primitive type of maize having a long slender ear with yellow kernels. The other two types, one a short ear with yellow kernels and the other with reddish kernels, appear to be varieties developed by the Brazilians. Maize is planted in September and harvested in April. Usually it is planted in rows, although it is often found growing irregularly in the fields. Much of the crop is used green, the ears being boiled or roasted before a fire. Coarsely ground maize is used for making a thin gruel, *chomoiú*, a porridge called *yubui*, or corn cakes known as *shipa*. After an ear of corn is husked, the kernels are removed and roughly ground in a wooden mortar. The coarse meal is then winnowed after which it is ready for use. 243 243 252

Sweetpotatoes.—The Terena grow three main types of sweetpotato: a yellow variety, a white variety, and a purple variety. The cuttings are set out in September and are ready for use in March and April. Sweetpotatoes are eaten boiled or baked. The Terena still bake sweetpotatoes in the old way. First a hole is dug in the ground and filled with firewood and lighted. When the fire has burned down to coals, the sweetpotatoes 249 252

[Banana] Village]

are put in and covered with soil and left for a day or two; when the oven is uncovered the tubers are well baked. Candy is sometimes made from sweetpotatoes by baking out the sirup. Sweetpotatoes are also treated like manioc when there are large quantities and it is feared they will decay—the potatoes are grated, the water is removed in a press, and the dry pulp is formed into cakes and baked in an oven. 244 252

Cará.—This yellow-skinned tuber, which looks like a yam but tastes like manioc, can be planted at any time of the year. It is used in soups and stews made with dried meat. 244 [267]

Beans.—The popular bean grown by the Terena is a small reddish-brown variety, known in Portuguese as "feijão miudo." This hardy bean, which matures in about 4 months, can be planted at any time of the year but does best when planted at the beginning of the rainy season. A creeping variety, known in Portuguese as "feijão rasteiro," is also planted although it does not grow well in this region. This variety of bean is planted in March and harvested in June. Beans are an important part of Terena diet and are eaten boiled, if possible with a piece of fat pork. Like the Brazilians, the Terena now eat boiled beans with rice. [262] [252]

Rice (naknti).—As has been mentioned, rice is an unreliable crop in this region owing to the uncertainty of rains. If the rains are heavy enough some rice will be planted in the lowlands surrounding Bananal. The planting period will vary from September to January or even February if the rains happen to be heavy in this month. The rice grown is of the dry-land variety, sown broadcast. 243

The scientific terms for the varieties of rice grown by the Terena were not obtained. They use the local Portuguese terms for the rice they grow, recognizing three varieties, namely, "catetinho," "arroz grande," and "amarelo." If the rains are sufficient, rice will mature in about 100 days after planting. Rice is harvested with a sickle, and after the sheaves are dry the heads are removed by beating the sheaf against the ground. Rice is husked as required for household use in the same wooden mortar used for husking maize. Rice is eaten boiled in the Brazilian fashion or boiled rice is made into cakes and baked. Sometimes rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. [262] [252]

[P.26-A]

[Banana1 Village]

times rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. 000

In addition to these principal crops the Terena produce small quantities of pumpkins, onions, tomatoes, red and green peppers, and garlic. 244

Among fruits, mangoes, oranges, tangerines, lemons, limes, guavas, and pineapples are important. During December and January mangoes are so plentiful in the village that not only people, but horses, cows, hogs, and chickens, eat them. Bananas and plantains also form an important year-round part of Terena diet. Among the bananas that grow well in this region are the "nanica," a small banana called "veia" and the "São Tomé." The plantain, which in Portuguese is called "banana de terra," is used boiled, fried, and dried. 245 [252]

Tobacco.—This crop is grown to some extent. When the plant matures the leaves are picked, rolled, and squeezed in a press to remove moisture, then unrolled and left to dry. This process is repeated several times. When the leaves are finally dry they are rolled into a cord about 1 inch in diameter, the cord being coiled into a compact cylindrical block about 12 inches in diameter and 12 inches high. This tobacco is sold to stores and is retailed by the meter or centimeter. The Terena use this type of tobacco for making cigarettes, dried corn husk being used for rolling. They, however, prefer cheap manufactured cigarettes to the rather heavy, home-grown tobacco. 249 [276]

Cotton.—The Terena still grow cotton, and it is the special privilege of the women to sow the seed. It is planted at the beginning of the rains. The bolls are picked and the seeds are removed by hand. Cotton is spun on a native spindle, consisting of a 2-inch whorl on a stick about a foot long. The Terena still use the traditional loom already described. 248 [462]

THE DAILY ROUND

It is customary for the Terena to arise at dawn. The first person up, whether man or woman, lights a fire at the back of the house and puts a kettle of water on the fire to boil. For awhile the fire builder may fan the fire with a plaited "abanico," or fan. While the water is heating the others get up and all wash their hands and faces either by pouring water into one hand or, more rarely, by washing in a basin. Soap is used when it is available, but towels are rarely used. 512 [372] [515]

[P.26-B]

[Buriti]

/95 cont./

872 invited to teach; but this was unsuccessful: the "teacher" had
875 the pupils sing religious hymns, incurring sharp criticism from
the post superintendent, who could not permit the S. P. I.
school to have a religious content, whether Catholic or
177 Protestant. Aside from these foci of culture change, that is, the
schools, the post itself, the mission, and the Catholic padres
who occasionally visit Buriti, we have the neighboring fazendas
464 and the "bolichos." As for the fazendas, it should be noted
648 that when we passed through Água Azul we did not find a single
adult male in the community; they were all working on the
fazendas and were to return to the aldea only at the end of the
366 day. And concerning the "bolichos," we found four of them
491 at the head of four of the roads that connect the reservation
797 with the outside; on the fifth road, the Evangelical mission
already referred to was situated. Thus, of the five means of
access to the native community, four are controlled by "bolichos"
and one by missionaries.

648 But the relations of the aldea are not limited to the
"bolichos" and to the mission referred to. Four leagues from
Buriti there is the town of Sidrolândia, with a few business
houses, a pharmacy, the prefecture, and a modest boarding
house. Between Sidrolândia and Buriti, one league from the
latter, there is a small settlement of neo-Brazilians called
Barro Prêto /"black clay"/, probably because of the great
dampness of its soil, which is quite dark and good for farming.
[439] The Indians of the community maintain regular contacts with
Barro Prêto and with Sidrolândia, only not trading with them
because of the insufficient production of goods on the reserva-
[252] tion. It should be borne in mind that the chief product in
Buriti is manioc flour, which nevertheless is not put out in
quantities larger than necessary for internal consumption.
464 Buriti is one of the communities most dependent on the regional
648 labor market; the large numbers of cattle in the aldea do not
[233] belong to the Indians but to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios,
which naturally does not require more than five peons to care